

# PEACE NEWS

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2d.

## The PEACE PLEDGE UNION believes in Positive Action —not "Peace Aims"

**M**OST people are living in an unreal world. Their belief in the possibility of effective post-war planning of an ideal world is quite unrealistic.

The formulation of peace aims, so called, is really an attempt by those engaged in supporting the war to justify the war which they are supporting. The promise of a new world is the bait held out to persuade themselves or others to continue to make sacrifices.

All such British peace aims presuppose a total victory over the Axis Powers. A close examination of the situation shows this to be highly improbable. Therefore, conclusions based on the assumption of total victory are a form of wishful thinking.

In any case, a victory over the Axis Powers, if obtained, will be in large measure due to the efforts of Russia and the United States. Is Russia concerned to defeat Germany in Europe in order to re-establish the time-disgraced British foreign policy of the "balance of power"? Is the United States concerned to restore to Britain her lost imperial possessions in the Far East?

Thus, even the remote victory will not restore to Britain her former position in Europe or the larger world, or make possible the fulfilment of peace aims based on the assumption that her position will be regained.

**M**OREOVER, all the statements of peace aims put out are unrealistic because none of them touches the deeper causes of war. Indeed, the picture of the world envisaged in the Atlantic Declaration is no new world, but the same old world of capitalistic imperialism, which in fact nothing can restore.

The British Empire is disintegrating and "all the King's horses and all the King's men" cannot put it together again. The loss of foreign securities, the destruction of shipping, the development of new industrial production in other countries, mean that after the war, when Britain will need greatly to increase her exports, she will have fewer ships and fewer markets than ever.

In the face of such facts, the Atlantic Declaration is specious, if not fraudulent, and no similar peace aims are relevant.

The latest peace aim of "retribution" is equally false. True retribution is the working of the law that as we sow, so shall we reap.

The time has come for reaping the consequences of acquiescence in a political, social and economic order which denies the fundamental principles of peace in denying the true value of man, and the right relationships of man with man. An order based on profit and exploitation, which means the destruction of surpluses while millions are in need, is justly and inevitably doomed.

Pacifists, therefore, have a real service to perform to the community by endeavouring to make men face the facts of the situation. What better method of securing the earliest cessation of hostilities than showing the general public that the hopes held out to them are vain, and that the longer the war goes on, the longer will be the ensuing period of "retribution" for all before a better world order can emerge. The advocates of peace must continually

insist that, if peace aims are to be relevant, they must make plain the causes and consequences of war and seek to remedy them.

It is thus important that the PPU should expose the illusory character of so-called peace aims, and also attack those peace aims which are in themselves definitely bad. We hope to produce a pamphlet on each of these heads.

**B**UT while the PPU must be careful not to give way to the demand for the publication of pacifist peace aims, since these will only create another illusion, is there any positive action which can be taken?

So far as the actual war is concerned, peace by negotiation remains the PPU policy, although public advocacy of it is not always expedient. As for the post-war world, though some might regard it as a hopeful sign that many more people are now expecting a radical improvement of social conditions to emerge, there is a very real danger that these people will be completely disillusioned.

A radical improvement of conditions can never come until there is a universal demand for it and a widespread willingness for the necessary sacrifices. Few of those who now demand improvement are ready to pay the price of it.

The "homes fit for heroes to live in" are no more likely to be realized after this war than they were after

the last. If, as the committee believes, the war is only to be understood as a process of world-wide revolution, it must be remembered that the process of revolution is likely to be long and painful, whenever and however the war might end. Though better conditions may emerge at the end of the whole process, the actual period of revolution is not one in which it is realistic to expect to see such changes.

**P**ACIFISTS are committed to a high valuation of the individual person, but to an unflinching view of the world in which he lives. They must continue to stress the fundamental causes of war, and to enunciate the principles of peace, without which no new and better order can endure.

But if their message is to be of practical use, they will be wise to recognise that they will have done well if they can help to secure that society does not become more intolerant than it is at present. They will find their task hard enough if they set themselves to become increasingly capable of being reconcilers and peace-makers themselves.

So far as the PPU is concerned, "The Unity of the Spirit" has already emphasized the diversity in unity among its members. Those who can still believe in and work through the political machinery of such democracy as remains will take for their immediate peace aims the attempt to preserve the essential freedoms, if necessary by a refusal to co-operate with any government which denies them, and by non-violent resistance to further inroads upon them.

Those who feel no confidence in that method are already making

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## WHY

doesn't the PPU issue "a Statement of Peace Aims"? many people ask.

The Peace Aims Committee of the Peace Pledge Union was appointed to examine existing statements of peace aims and consider whether it was desirable that the PPU should produce a similar statement of its own.

The conclusion was an emphatic negative, and an interim statement of the findings of the committee, drafted by Alan Staniland and John Middleton Murry, was published in *Peace News* on Jan. 16. The following agreed summary of its general deliberations was drafted by Stuart Morris, and approved for publication by the National Council on Mar. 7.

## Circulation and Circularity

**T**HE first harvest is coming to hand from those who were inspired to collect the new threepenny pieces for Headquarters Fund.

I did very well with these myself. I collected 5s. in a fortnight. But since then 3d. pieces seem to avoid me. Their reluctance to be captured is remarkable, and demands investigation.

If other readers have the same experience, I shall put forward the hypothesis that the new 3d. pieces, having difficulty in circulating anyhow, owing to their lack of circularity, have developed a definite dislike of captivity and peace. However, if readers will intensify their efforts, it is probable that, in their desperate struggles to escape, a shoal of 3d. pieces will fall into my net.

Contributions during the past fortnight £19 2s. 6d.. Total to date, £379 4s. 8d.

Send your donations, made payable to the Peace Pledge Union, to Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

The Editor.

Edited by "OBSERVER"

## A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

### Waiting for the Next Blow

**A**MID the innumerable speculations as to where the next blow will fall, one new one receives emphasis. Will Japan now strike at Russia? Three months ago the question was: Will Russia strike Japan? But those three months have been momentous. Now we are told that Japan has it in her power to strike simultaneously at India, at Australia, and at Russia. But this last is not for the sake of Germany's beautiful eyes.

Japan is not necessarily prepared to do things for the Axis. She is the opponent of Europe and European power, hardly less of German power or Italian (if any less at all) than British or Dutch. (M. Guardian, Mar. 16).

That is sounder sense than one often reads. The writer might almost believe that Hitler was serious when he said that he did not want the British Empire to be destroyed. Europe may yet awake to the necessity of bringing its civil war to an end.

#### What Comes Next?

**W**AITING, with little hope and less enthusiasm, for the next blow. Such is the general atmosphere. We are at the end of our resources in Government. The only radical change now possible would be a government for peace. Mr. Vernon Bartlett puts the feeling in other, superficially more comfortable words.

If Mr. Churchill's tough rejection of any possibility of defeat and Sir Stafford Cripps's passionate desire for social justice cannot produce among all sections of our people an enthusiasm which will make all personal problems insignificant, then one might almost become despondent about the victory of democracy. (M. Guardian, Mar. 16).

First, tough rejection of the possibility of defeat by Mr. Churchill's

rhetoric does nothing to avert it. Second, Sir Stafford Cripps's passion for social justice does not alter the fact that many a man in munitions-work earns four times as much as a serving soldier. Words, words, words. If, as Mr. Bartlett suggests, the Cripps-Churchill combination is the last arrow in our quiver—and even our Communists are all pro-Churchill now—what comes next? Meanwhile, nothing seems to be quite real: not even the value of our points-coupons, which seem to be a dress-rehearsal of inflation.

#### A New Outlook?

**M**R. Clement Davies, MP, expressed the general feeling:

At the moment the people are bewildered. They are working hard, producing vast quantities of material, but they have a feeling of frustration and a sense of inability to cope with the events which are following each other so rapidly.

The country needs a new fervour, a new faith, a new outlook upon religion. Our churches and chapels must preach a new crusade. The people are ready, but they have to be fired with a burning passion that nothing can extinguish. (M. Guardian, Mar. 16).

But Mr. Davies is inconsistent with himself. How can we reconcile his statement that "the people are ready" for the fiery cross with his other statement: "To vast numbers war was still a secondary consideration. Men and women were still thinking of profits, goodwill, wages, comforts, privileges, power, rights."

#### Pertinent Questions

**M**R. Davies's inconsistency is part of the general condition. In fact, the people are not ready to be

fired by a religious crusade. They do not "know what they fight for and love what they know," in Cromwell's immortal phrase. And that inward emptiness is being increasingly recognized. The Times (Mar. 13) spoke with forced exhilaration of the Cripps mission to India: "Here is something positive; here is leadership in action; here at last is a break in the monotony of mere defence." But it went on to ask: "Can the sense of exhilaration be so extended as to revivify the whole national effort?" Its answer (like Mr. Davies's) is that this is possible only if the objectives of the war are "conceived with religious fervour." And it asks for a sense of historic "mission" like that which animates the enemy.

"What world do allied statesmen offer to those whom they summon to fight for it? What world are they now presenting to their own people?" They are pertinent questions. But who will give a pertinent answer? Is there any possible world-order, or national order, which Britain today is capable of "conceiving with religious fervour"?

#### No Ersatz Religion

**E**VEN if there were no war, it would be difficult enough to elaborate a plan of a practicable national society which would evoke religious fervour from the citizens of our mass-society. The mass-man's Utopia cannot excite religious fervour even in the mass-man. It is not a thing anyone can believe in. A minority is perhaps capable of a religious re-

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## A Gesture — of Despair

IT is difficult not to be sceptical over the outcome of Sir Stafford Cripps's mission to India. Undoubtedly, it was the best thing to do: the only move which offers a remote chance of consolidating India's 400 millions in some kind of active resistance to the threat from Japan. But it would be foolish to suppose that the chance is more than one in a thousand. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the resistance which the Government requires from India is armed resistance: "full co-operation in the war-effort."

Let us not deceive ourselves. The Dutch in Java had a better record than we in India. In one fundamental matter there was an absolute difference between the two systems of paternal administration. The Dutch not merely permitted but encouraged intermarriage between Dutch officials and the Indonesians; and many of the mixed Dutch families had made their permanent home in the East Indies for centuries. Racial superiority was therefore mitigated, in much the same way as it was mitigated between the Spaniards and the Indians of South America. Nevertheless, the attitude of the natives in Java was just the same as that of the natives in Malaya. They regarded the conflict between the Dutch and the Japanese as something with which they were not concerned. They were indifferent.

But there is a difference, it may be said, which tells in the other direction. The Dutch authorities firmly suppressed any incipient nationalist movement in the East Indies. They did not, as we have done in India, profess to encourage the idea of eventual self-government. That is true, though the sincerity of our professions has always been in doubt. But here comes the fact that, so far as the nationalist movement in India can be regarded as nation-wide, it is a movement inspired and led by Gandhi: a movement of non-violent resistance. From such a movement it is foolishness to expect a new unity in armed resistance to Japan.

Certainly, Pandit Nehru's ideas are different from Gandhi's. Probably what he has in mind is a kind of revolutionary mass-resistance, after the Chinese pattern, to Japanese attack. This seems to us rather the dream of a western-educated socialist than a feasible enterprise. And, although in theory a combination of Gandhi's non-violent resistance and Nehru's revolutionary armed resistance is conceivable, we doubt whether in practice what would happen in India would amount to anything much different from what has happened in Java.

The more sober newspapers share our scepticism, though of course they are not so explicit about the reasons for it. "It would be fruitless to ask," says The Times (Mar. 12) "why the adoption of a policy which might have been commended to the Indian people a year, three months, or even a month ago, should have been deferred until this eleventh hour." Fruitless, perhaps, in the sense that it would involve fixing the blame where it lies, squarely on Mr. Churchill's shoulders. Not that, we believe, it would have made much difference to the actual situation had Mr. Churchill been imaginative even a year ago, or not made his foolish and fatal gloss on the Atlantic Charter; but at least it would have saved us from our ignominious position today. Our gesture to India is robbed of any semblance of generosity. Everybody—we ourselves, the Indian leaders, the enemy—knows that Sir Stafford Cripps is going to India, not because Mr. Churchill, or Britain for that matter, has been converted to a new attitude to the Indian people, but because Singapore and Rangoon have fallen. It is a gesture not of faith, but of despair.

## Can Britain Arouse a Religious Fervour?

sponse to the appeal of a radically different society; but that minority, whether pacifist or not, knows that fighting this war will not bring us nearer to it—except that it may bring us nearer to the anarchy out of which something better may painfully emerge. To ask for religious enthusiasm in fighting this war is to ask for the impossible. You cannot improvise a religion. Our existing society has none. There is a certain quasi-religious urge to be got from the deliberate sacrifices imposed by a willed totalitarianism; it cannot be got out of our passive, negative, second-hand totalitarianism.

## Atrocity Propaganda

NOW the effort is being made to whip up the fervour by atrocity-propaganda. Those who are affected by it should read Lord Ponsonby's "Falsehood in War-time." Those who are affected by it should read it again. Then let them consider that Oriental morality is very different from our own. In an article in the Express (Mar. 13) in praise of the Chinese soldier, is this from a Chinese general:

"We are not afraid of the Japanese, though the Japanese are afraid of us. It is considered disgraceful for a Japanese to die unless his body is in one piece. We always cut off their heads whenever possible after killing them in action. That is one reason why they are more afraid of us than any other soldiers."

That in itself may not be an atrocity; but it is an invitation to atrocity. But perhaps

the really atrocious behaviour in our eyes is that of the Japanese in Singapore. Mr. Curtin, announcing that food-supplies were being sent to the captive Australian soldiers there, said: "We were asked to send stuff. It was put to us very straight that it had to be for everybody, including the native population. It goes into a common pool, and the Japanese distribute it."

## Two-Edged Weapon

ATROCITY propaganda tends to defeat itself. When you have powerfully suggested that the Japanese inflict foul tortures on their prisoners of war, it depresses the relatives of the prisoners more potently than it inspires the nation with fury. Therefore the relatives of those who may have survived the naval disaster off Java have now to be consoled. "Discipline in the Japanese Navy is much stricter than in the Japanese army, and there is reason to hope that treatment of prisoners will be correspondingly more humane." (Mail, Mar. 16).

What, in that case, becomes of Mr. Eden's statement that "the Japanese High Command connived at" the atrocities in Hong Kong? You cannot have it both ways. Nor can it be said that lack of discipline is the responsibility of the Army Commander. Who blames Wellington for the atrocities committed after the storming of Badajoz?

But there is positive consolation to be had: "At least one message has been received from four ladies attached to the SPG and CMS, and this reads: 'All well, women at home, much kindness.'" (Times, Mar. 17).

## Racial Equality!

CURIOUS and tell-tale was Mr. Eden's phrase that the barbarities alleged in Hong Kong were perpetrated by the Japan-

## A PACIFIST COMMENTARY (Continued from page one)

ese army "without distinction of race or colour." This was meant to intensify the horror. Consider its implications.

The charge that one entire Chinese district was declared a brothel will scarcely horrify those who knew Hong Kong. For there were in fact, two such districts already: Pokfulam for the Chinese, and Towards Happy Valley for the Europeans. These, it is true, were not publicly acknowledged and regulated, as similar districts are in Japan. That was due to the British attitude in such matters. The districts existed. But whereas, under the Japanese system, all other professions—and remember that in the East this is a profession—are excluded from the district, in Hong Kong the same exclusion was not practised. What more probable than that the Japanese authorities have introduced their own system into Hong Kong?

## "Life" in Hongkong

HONG KONG, anyhow, was hardly an ethical beauty-spot. It presented, says Worldover Press, quoting the Chinese Weekly Review, of Shanghai, "a spectacle of incredible poverty for most of its population and amazing wealth for the few." Ninety-eight per cent. of the 1½ million inhabitants of the island are Chinese. Prostitution flourishes, and the death rate from poverty-diseases is extremely high. During the first half of 1939, tuberculosis deaths were 3,457; pellagra deaths 748. In 1940, there were 7,228 deaths from beri-beri. The mortality rate in the outbreak of summer cholera was 66%. And the tuberculosis death-rate is said to be the highest in the world.

No doubt, a good deal in this fearful record is due to the influx of refugees from the Japan-China war. But the lot of the vast majority of the inhabitants of Hong Kong will hardly be much worsened by the change in the regime.

## Truth is Immoral

MR. William Hickey, I am pleased to see, has safely returned from USA to this country and to his reading of Peace News. He finds that "it is still (as its job is) crabbing our war-effort" (Express, Mar. 13). Perhaps the most direct reply to this criticism, at its own level, is in the words of Commander Bower, MP:

"I am getting tired to death of people—they can only be described as quasi-quishings—who consider it is indecent to suggest that we could possibly fail to win. They mouth silly shibboleths and complacent clichés while an empire crumbles about their ears. They think it immoral to tell the truth, if the truth happens to be unpleasant."

We believed, from the beginning, that it was a fatal mistake for this country to go to war; not merely because we, as pacifists, had renounced war, but because we, as realists, understood that the position of Britain was fatally weak—morally, politically, militarily. Our judgment has been corroborated by events. We take no pleasure in "prophesying evil." But we are convinced that, unless and until the British nation has the moral courage to face reality, nothing but moral as well as material disaster can ensue. We believe—here the pacifist faith comes in—that it is possible to pluck moral victory out of material disaster, and that this should be the effort of Britain. But the indispensable condition of this moral victory is to look squarely at the truth.

## Crime Against India

TAKE India. The idea of a free, independent, and united India is as gratifying to me as it is to anyone; more gratifying, seeing that I have pleaded for it these thirty years. But I have always known that the problem was colossal, and that a solution was possible only if there had been an unremitting will to emancipate India—that is, a will prepared to pay the price. This will was lacking. The Labour Party, which professed concern for Indian freedom, and opposition to imperialism, did nothing to implement its professions. It deserved the scorn which Mr. Gandhi has poured upon it. Labour wanted its share of the profits of the imperialism which it denounced. A moral revolution in Britain was required to give India her freedom.

As Gandhi says: "In spite of my love for the British, I think their imperialism has been their greatest crime against India. The immediate thing the British Government should do is to confess their crime and undo it. Of the undoing there is no sign visible yet in the Indian sky" (Express, Mar. 13). You cannot improvise the moral revolution which such action requires. The British people and the British Government show, even now, no sign of understanding what Gandhi means when he calls upon them for a religious act of repentance for their imperialism. Death-bed repentance is not repentance. What we are really asking is that India should unite to defend British imperialism against the Japanese. One cannot honestly hope for much from that.

## Comments on Cripps

TWO comments on Cripps's mission to India deserve to be recorded. One is from the Delhi correspondent of The Times (Mar. 13) who, after speaking of enabling the people of India "to concentrate all their thought and energies on the defence of their native soil," continues: "Mr. Churchill's prescient interpretation of this underlying desire is an accurate appreciation of Indian sentiment towards the war, and for the moment the voice of controversy is hushed and sober optimism now permeates all political expression."

Golly! However, my sanity was saved by this, from Lucio in the Manchester Guardian (March 12):

"They haven't managed to keep him very long at Westminster," said Alice.

"You can't keep a good man down," said the Red Queen. "It's like the old joke, you know—'Off again; on again; gone again; Flanagan.' That's Cripps, that was!"

## VICHY is Rebuilding FRANCE

BEHIND the thick curtain of British press and radio vilification, what is really happening today in France? A substantial corner of that curtain has been lifted by a book\* just published here, and it discloses a nation in rebirth.

Much mud has been slung at those popularly considered responsible for France's defeat in 1940. No-one until Mr. Kernan, as far as I know, has dared to point out the real cause of disaster—the incalculable ruin of French social life by the wars of 1870-1 and 1914-18.

In 1871 began that declining birth-rate which by 1914 left France the only European country whose population had barely increased in 70 years. By November, 1918, she had lost in addition no less than 28 per cent. of her male population between the ages of 20 and 50; another 20 per cent. were totally or partially disabled, and there were 700,000 widows and 1,000,000 orphans.

The effect on family life, in a land where the family had for generations been the motif and inspiration of national existence, was immense; on the one hand, a great legion of women doomed never to become *mères de familles*; on the other, a generation of children who have grown up without knowing parental love or guidance. Significant as well as deeply moving is Kernan's picture of this generation in 1939-40:—

Without family, without roots, frequently introverted, and warped by their pathetic upbringing, many of these children—now young men—took their place in the armies of France. It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that 25 per cent. of the French troops, owing either to lack of family or poverty, never received a letter, a package, or a remittance from home. The army pay permitted them to buy only the equivalent of two packets of cigarettes a week. They could not afford the cup of hot coffee, the glass of red wine, or any of the minor luxuries which help make the soldier's life endurable. In the winter of 1939-40—the coldest winter France has had since Waterloo—they were left without scarves, gloves, sufficient socks, or warm clothing.

Small wonder that the young Frenchman of the 1930's saw no purpose or pattern in life, that free—and childless—unions were found more attractive than marriage, that in the summer of 1940 the nation had confidence in neither its leaders or itself.

## VICHY'S MAIN PROBLEM

This was the crux of the problem that the "government of defeat" had to tackle; and it is tackling it with a success and thoroughness that, by one of war's ironies, would have been impossible prior to the German conquest.

Circumstances have helped. Defeat has drawn families together. Parents, cousins, grandparents have

collaborated to support the wives and children of the million and a half prisoners of war. Other families have united merely for comfort in adversity.

The replacement of *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* by the Vichy motto *Travail, Famille, Patrie*, so glibly sneered at on this side of the Channel, has meaning for the French.

## NEW LAWS

Every Vichy law has been framed to support the policy behind the new slogan. The divorce laws have been stiffened, pernicious sex literature removed from the bookstalls, a vigorous campaign launched against abortion.

Republican financial measures to encourage the founding of families have been strengthened and added to. The employer of a woman who bears a child is compelled to grant her three months' extra holiday with full pay. Most remarkable of all, a law of April, 1941, grants a father of one child under five years old wages 20 per cent. above the official standard, a father of two such children 25 per cent., of three or more such, 30 per cent.

Thus, in a step which breaks through all theories of capitalist employment, France accepts one of the crucial theories of the socialist State—that the wages of a man should not be a coefficient of his production, but . . . of his needs.

There have been drastic and much-needed reforms in education. The drab rigour of the old system has been swept away overnight. "No more cramming!" is the Vichy motto for schools.

The special schools for teachers, which virtually segregated these men after their teens from all contact with their fellows in other walks, are abolished, and henceforth embryo schoolmasters must spend at least two years in the ordinary colleges. This point is important, since, in Kernan's opinion, schoolmasters prior to the war were in the main grossly unfitted to handle the often parentless youths in their charge, and, in fact, contributed much to the nation's moral instability.

## FIGHTING UNEMPLOYMENT

To eliminate the moral harm wrought upon youth by post-war unemployment, Vichy has replaced the defunct service militaire with an 8 months' period of compulsory national labour, undertaken at the age of 20; while for out-of-work lads of 15 to 20 there are voluntary "youth camps" in which teams are formed to work in forestry and agriculture.

For girls, the back-to-the-family policy naturally entails a Vichy version of the German

\*Report on France by Thomas Kernan. Lane, 10s. 6d.)

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THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

PPU HEADQUARTERS,  
Dick Sheppard House,  
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

## NEED FOR NEW SPEAKERS

By JOHN BARCLAY

DONALD Port (London Area Organizer) was sentenced to three months imprisonment last week for refusing to register under the Civil Defence Duties (Compulsory Enrolment) Order 1941.

A few days before his case was heard he handed some notes to me which he had written on the all-important subject of speakers. As it is a matter of national concern he asked me to use them for this column. Although they are written particularly with reference to London, I give them in full and hope that other Areas will find them of real value:

"There is probably no PPU meetings organizer in the country who is not aware of the movement's present serious deficiency in trained and experienced speakers. The number of national personalities available for meetings of any kind has become gradually smaller, and the time they are able to give is necessarily limited.

"Plainly, the only way of meeting this difficulty is by a bold use of new names, with the emphasis, in advertising a meeting, shifted to its subject. So to meet the need for new speakers for group public, and open-air meetings, the London Area has

**N.B.**

MEMBERSHIP of the Annual General Meeting of the PPU—to be held in Friends House, London, April 25 and 26—is open to one representative from each Group and to any individual member of the PPU. Admission will be by tickets only, for which applications should be received not later than Mar. 27, by which date also nominations for Chairman, Treasurer, and twenty members of Council must be received.

NOMINATIONS can be made either by a Group or by one individual seconded by another, but must be accompanied by the consent of the nominee. Elections will be by the Groups, and a voting paper will be sent to each Group Secretary (whether the Group sends a representative to the AGM or not) on Mar. 31. Voting papers must be returned not later than first post on April 23.

WRITE to Headquarters for further particulars of the PPU's fifth

**A.G.M.**

formed a panel of those of its competent members who are not used by the national scheme. The panel is not intended to rival Headquarters as a source of supply, but merely to provide for those many occasions when someone of national reputation is not available.

### FOR MAXIMUM EFFECT

"Groups are encouraged to continue to book national speakers only through the Speakers Department at Headquarters, and to meet if possible the 'average cost,' while a uniform contribution of 6s. is asked for all Area speakers; after expenses are paid, a surplus is accumulated which it is intended to pay into the national pool. In order that the schemes shall achieve maximum effect, groups are urged not to approach speakers direct, except in very special circumstances, but to make all bookings through the Area or national office.

"In addition, series of speakers' classes have been held at various points in the Area with some success, and groups are being asked to rely as much as possible on local talent for their own meetings.

"The whole problem of the movement's speaking resources is one which the new Area Committees are well fitted to tackle, and it is hoped that they will fully recognize the need for more speakers to be trained and used."

## Putting Oneself in the other Man's Place

Letters to the Editor

### The Food-Relief Campaign

I DO not know why Mr. Perry insists on saddling me with the belief that the Nazi policy—apparently in all its aspects—is sane and just.

Some of its features in regard to finance, foreign trade, the social services, and public works are undeniably good, and in this connection I would recommend Mr. Perry to read Norman Hillson's very informative book, "I speak of Germany." Other features characterized by cruelty, repression, and the disregard of the rights of individuals are undeniably bad; although many things which are wholly indefensible are very understandable, when one remembers all that Germany went through before Hitler came to power and also remembers the weaknesses common to all humanity and freely displayed, on occasion, by individual members of our own race.

Bitter experience is teaching me not to expect of the average member of the British public more imagination and more capacity to put oneself in the other fellow's place than is commonly possessed by a boiled haddock: but I do think that some members of the PPU might try and achieve a bit more of this valuable faculty, for they will not be able to pull their weight as leaders in the post-war world without it.

Whether, if we had made reasonable agreements with the Nazi leaders and treated the German people with justice and generosity, the Germans would have kept their share of a bargain, I cannot say with absolute certainty, though I think that it is not unlikely, and that the experiment should undoubtedly have been tried.

What I can say with absolute certainty and with a not inconsiderable experience of criminals of various kinds, is that, even on the assumption that the Nazi leaders belong to the criminal class—which I take it is Mr. Perry's view—they were consistently handled by the British Government in a manner calculated to bring out the worst side of their characters and not the best. You do not make headway with a difficult man by threatening and blustering and then sometimes giving way, but never doing a single unselfish thing which is not absolutely forced out of you, either to help him or his friends.

Seeing that British citizens have proved capable within a few weeks, or even days, of forgiving and forgetting all the cruelties and aggressions of the Soviet regime, there is no logical reason—except that in war they are seldom logical—why they should not learn to take a more balanced view of the Nazis, whose overthrow even Stalin does not seem to regard as an absolutely essential war aim.

Any plea for fair play certainly brings one plenty of odium, but Mr. Perry should not forget that the conviction that the Nazis are devils with whom existence in the same world is utterly impossible is the chief obstacle to the restoration of peace before Europe has descended into the abyss of social chaos and destitution.

BEDFORD

Cairnsmore, Newton Stewart, Wigtownshire.

If Mr. Ronald G. Perry had produced evidence to justify his assumption of what he imagined to be the Duke of Bedford's "assumption," it would have been interesting. Simply to make an assumption and then to say one cannot accept it is not helpful.

In these awful days we need to pull together. I have re-read the Duke of Bedford's article and cannot understand why it should be necessary to try to discredit what would appear to be a constructive suggestion at this juncture.

STANLEY J. LONG

Chagford, Devon.

JOHN BARCLAY—Cont. from col. 1

The vigorous campaign which is now being undertaken by the PPU throughout the country on the special subject of controlled food-relief adds special urgency to this need of finding adequate speakers. It would be a constructive step forward if every Area Committee which had not already done so would initiate a policy of speakers' classes.

## Commonwealth and Union

The British Commonwealth and the United States in the Post-War World. Contributions by Denis Saurat, S. de Madariaga, H. D. Liem, H. N. Brailsford, Barbara Ward, A. L. Goodhart, Vera Brittain, Willard Connolly, George Catlin and others. (National Peace Council. 1s.)

THIS 64-page booklet dealing with the future cultural, economic and constitutional issues of Anglo-American relations is made up of addresses delivered at a National Peace Council Conference held in London last November.

Few will quarrel with Miss Barbara Ward that a policy of full employment is the necessary pre-requisite of reconstruction, or that American opinion is moving towards Free Trade. This raises the one big issue which, it seems to me, the Conference evaded. Full employment for what?

The issue is that of disarmament. Mr. Mackenzie King's warning (quoted by Professor Catlin) of an inter-hemispheric war in the future if Britain is controlled by a European Power misses the mark, because if a non-European Power controls Britain in an armed world, then Europe will certainly regard this country as "a dagger pointed at Europe's heart" and react accordingly.

Having won the gold standard game, America is anxious to reopen world commerce; Free Trade, as the representative of a small European Power once pointed out, is the weapon of the strong. The delicate balance between politics, economics and armaments is not sufficiently sensed. Of all the great Powers, America has been furthest removed from war and her economy least conditioned by it, hence her economic considerations have tended to become political realities with the resulting trend towards a demand for world free trade.

But think of the world in terms of Europe, Russia and the advancing East; give to America (and Britain) the task of policing that world, and the necessity for a permanent war economy emerges.

That means that political—i.e. military and strategic—considerations must take precedence over economic ones and a virtually self-supporting group of nations clusters round the United States in a world of power politics. Anglo-American unity is the fancy name for a mammoth military and freedom-destroying monopoly unless it is envisaged in a disarmed world.

Emphasis on such matters as closer co-operation between British and American educational authorities, the suggested machinery for wider contacts, and the dangers of Anglo-American exclusiveness, is made with particularly important contributions from Mr. Willard Connolly, Professor A. L. Goodhart and Mr. H. N. Brailsford.

Most people will accept Senor de Madariaga's verdict that the Anglo-Saxon group "although bad, is by far the best at our disposal for the reconstruction of the world." What is required is a finer definition of what the Anglo-Saxon contribution consists of, and thought as to how it can be rendered without militarized hegemony.

H. P. FOWLER

## VICHY FRANCE

(Continued from page 2)

Kinder, Kirche, Kuche; but unlike in Germany there is no attempt to interfere with higher feminine education or the right to enter the professions, and the programme boils down to little more than a somewhat overdue emphasis on the ancient virtues of industry, modesty, and naturalness.

The most interesting reforms of all are those concerned with business. Under the Third Republic the principle of limited liability was atrociously abused. It was common for a commercial gambler to go through bankruptcy after bankruptcy, each time forming a new company before its predecessor had been interred. A successful business man might simultaneously be president of 20 companies and a director of a hundred more.

Now, by the new Corporation Laws, the legal responsibility of any company is embodied in the person of its president. If it goes bankrupt, unless he can prove to a tribunal that the failure is not imputable to "grave faults in the management" the deficit may be claimed from his private fortune.

### MORE "SOCIALISM"

These laws cut right across the whole theory of free capitalism. Large-scale investment is killed, for no-one is going to venture large sums in an enterprise whose failure will involve his personal wealth.

The financing of new industry automatically passes to the State, and with it the political power of private capital. Conservative Vichy has launched its second great socialist measure.

A large part of Kernan's book deals in detail with Germany's handling of Occupied France. The author, who was the American president of a French publishing house, remained in Paris nearly a year after the Nazi take-over, and writes throughout from direct observation.

His fairness to all parties is most commendable, and "Report on France" should be read carefully by every pacifist who desires to know what really happens to a major country that ceases to meet aggression by force of arms.

DENYS KAY-ROBINSON

THE importance which the National Council of the PPU attaches to the appeal in Peace News (Mar. 6) for support of the Food-Relief Campaign cannot be ignored. While members of the PPU are free to act as they think fit in any matter touching the Union, they have a duty to take full cognizance of, and give serious attention to, considered statements made by the Council.

For precisely this reason and because of the manner in which the appeal has been framed, I feel that a protest must now be made, and I do so on the grounds that (a) it is not a realistic campaign, and (b) it is not the function of the PPU to carry it out.

(a) At the risk of repeating some objections made in previous Peace News articles, I would ask for the consideration of the following points.

The governments which it is hoped will be induced to lift the blockade in respect of those who are our "friends," as distinct from our "enemies," are exactly the same governments which are engaged in bombing those self-same "friends." Was there not an RAF raid on Salamis and Piraeus some time ago? Consider that a food-ship might reach a Greek port in the morning and the RAF are sent to carry out a raid in the evening.

Who dies when Le Havre and Brest are raided? Who dies when the RAF are over Holland? Who dies on the Eastern front and elsewhere due to the boasted "scorched earth" policy? Who dies when Paris is raided? Whatever our opinion of Petain, we would endorse his statement that "there is no pretext to justify before the conscience of humanity such bloody hecatombs." Who will die when these places are raided again and again? Why don't we campaign against that? Every member knows the answers.

That the people of this country are well aware of all these happenings there can be little doubt; that they are not troubled about them there is still less doubt. Why is it supposed that they will concern themselves any more about famine? To me it is axiomatic that pacifists are realists: to me this campaign is the most unrealistic ever sponsored by the National Council.

(b) It is obvious that one need not be a pacifist, far less a member of the PPU, to engage in such a campaign. What makes the National Council think that it is the province of the PPU to act in this matter? There are existing organizations whose purpose, nay, whose unique function it is to carry out such work. It is my submission that the PPU is not one of them, and the dynamic which we seek is not to be found in campaigns of this nature.

Further, if we did find a dynamic in that way, we would cease to be the PPU. I write this in the full knowledge that one of the most successful meetings, so far as attendance was concerned, which the Glasgow Region has held was addressed by Stuart Morris on "Famine over Europe."

One final point. Let us beware lest we be induced to advocate successfully things which it is not our task to advocate because the alternative would be to advocate unsuccessfully the things that are.

JAMES MCGILL

Glasgow, N.W.

## Registration of Youth

I, together with many other pacifists to whom I have spoken, feel that we must protest very strongly regarding many of the remarks voiced by Geoffrey Norman in connection with the Service of Youth.

Surely the compulsion of youth at all is utterly vile, and registration from 16 years should be opposed. As this is, in truth, nothing but a means to secure the young people solely for the war machine, under pretence of so called youth work, I find it completely against all our pacifist faith to be told that boys cannot be prevented from joining the ATC, etc. The remark that "in a country at war we have no right..." is, to say the least, a pretty weak line to take.

As a CO myself, and absolute, I wish to be allowed to make my own position, as well as those of many pacifist companions, very clear; namely: compulsion is to be rejected at whatever age. "Service of Youth" under present conditions is a sham.

A. JOHNSON OLDACRE

"The Haven," Dunstable Rd., Luton.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

An unusual exhibition of paintings of peculiar interest to pacifists is now being held at the Architectural Association, 34 Bedford Square, W.C.1, where Richard Murry is showing a collection of his paintings of war-damaged buildings, from Mar. 16 to Mar. 28. Richard Murry is the brother of John Middleton Murry and a contributor to Peace News.



## NEWS OF C.O.s

**F**URTHER appeals to the Appellate Tribunal by conscientious objectors imprisoned for refusing medical examination have been heard during the past week, and the proportion of cases dismissed has greatly increased.

The second division of the London Appellate Tribunal has taken the view that the fact that a CO goes to prison for his convictions does not show the sincerity of his views and that he must produce other evidence not previously before the tribunal.

Eleven of the COs whose application for conditional exemption have been allowed were released from Wormwood Scrubs prison on Mar. 13, having had the balance of their sentences remitted and having signed a form saying they accepted their condition of exemption.

## WOMEN C.O.s

The Central Board for COs has given the following information concerning women and conscientious objection:

1. Married women cannot apply to be registered as conscientious objectors to military service whatever their age.

2. Women under the 20 age-group or over the 30 age-group, whether married or not, are not at present included in any proclamation for military service, and in such cases no right of conscientious objection is recognized.

3. Women in the 20 and 21 age-groups registered for war work, but their groups have been "proclaimed" and are being dealt with for military service. If unmarried, they can apply to be provisionally registered as COs and go before a CO tribunal. Such women have had Form NS.196, which asks if they wish to be registered as COs. Women provisionally registered in this way will be asked to fill in a form of application to a local tribunal (NS.14) like men, and can go before a CO tribunal. It is understood that they will not be directed to civil work while their applications to a CO tribunal are pending.

4. Women in the 22-30 age-groups inclusive have been "proclaimed" but are not at present being dealt with for military service. It is now settled by a recent Ministry of Labour instruction to local offices that, if unmarried they have the right to apply now to be provisionally registered as COs, and can apply personally or by letter. Before this instruction some women who would have registered as COs were directed to work of national importance. Of two of these, Esther Turrie and Louisa Hercock, now in Holloway Prison for disobeying the direction, the CBCO has now been informed that the Home Secretary does not see any ground for interfering with their sentences.

The D. Express reported on Mar. 10 that "a quarter of a million full-time Civil Defence workers, men and women, will register their industrial qualifications at Labour Exchanges during the last week of this month."

The D. Telegraph reported on Mar. 10 that "It was officially announced in Ottawa yesterday that Canada's plebiscite on releasing the Government from its pledge not to conscript men for military service overseas will be held on April 27."

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"THE BLACK FLAG," Arthur Wragg's striking design for one of the new publications in connection with the food-relief campaign. (3s. 6d. per 1,000 from Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.)

## HALF of Greece's population of 7,000,000 may be dead before the war ends unless effective aid is given, fear Greek officials.

This was stated in Cairo on Sunday in authenticated accounts by people who have just escaped from Greece (according to an Associated Press message in the Daily Herald on Monday). The message added:

The peak of deaths from starvation in Athens was reached last month, when the daily toll was 1,500. So many people reeled over in the streets that the Germans established first-aid booths, where victims were given a shot of adrenalin... Many people queue all day to get the ration of four ounces of black bread, in which maize, rice and chestnut flour are mixed... The people eat donkeys, mules, dandelions, and herbs.

This grave report follows a Times message from Cairo dated Mar. 13 which stated:

Heart-rending reports are being received in Egypt of the pitiful condition of the Greek population. According to information derived from reliable sources 30,000 deaths have been occurring a month in the Athens district alone.

Last week two food-relief ships sailed for Greece.

After being held up for more than a week by ice, the Swedish steamer Halleren (2,800 tons gross) left Gothenburg today, chartered by the Swedish Red Cross to carry food-stuffs to Greece with a safe-conduct from the belligerent Powers. From

Sweden the Halleren took some 50 tons of medicaments which had been bought from the proceeds of the Red Cross appeal, and also a small consignment of sugar. The ship will call at Lisbon to take on board a full cargo of grain, salt, and fish for Greece. Later it is intended to transport foodstuffs from Turkey to Greece (Times, Mar. 12).

The other relief ship is the Radmanso, which was reported in The Times, Mar. 14, as leaving Haifa the day before with a cargo of 7,000 tons of grain (not 8,000, as previously reported).

It was also announced during last week (Times, Mar. 13) that Mr. Curtin, Australian Prime Minister, was sending foodstuffs from Australia to Japanese-occupied Singapore (see Commentary, page 2).

A rather different attitude toward food-relief in enemy-occupied territory is indicated by this statement and by Mr. Curtin's explanation, quoted by The Times on the following day: "If Great Britain could make the arrangements," he said, "Australia is prepared to send the food."

The London North Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church of England passed a resolution on Mar. 10 viewing "with grave concern the state of famine and consequent distress in the countries of Europe," and pleading "that every effort should be made to arrange for the provision of relief under appropriate safeguards through the Relief Commission of the International Red Cross or otherwise."

Dr. Alex Wood proposed and the Rev. R. E. Fenn, of Welwyn Garden City, seconded the resolution; an amendment to restrict it to Greece on the ground that it would have more weight with the Government was heavily defeated.

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## MEETINGS, &amp;c.

FRIDAY, Mar. 27 (8 p.m.) at Wesley Central Hall, Burnt Oak. "Psychology and War," by Robert Entwistle; Chairman: Mrs. P. Bush. Admission free.

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WARDENS of Youth Hostel in Lake District required. Must have experience in cooking and food gardening. T.A.I., Wayside, Conway.

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## POSITIVE ACTION

(Continued from page 1)

their contribution to the future by building up various forms of communities in the faith that the on-sweeping flood of totalitarianism will not be able to swamp these islands of culture and liberty, in which they are struggling to preserve true values and establish right human relationships. Their peace aims will be to make such communities immune from the charge of escapism or of merely fulfilling exemption conditions by creating in them the economic foundations and the actual practice of peaceful living.

★

**A**LREADY, then, by its basic faith, as by its historic progress, the PPU is committed to the only relevant peace aims. We have not changed with changing circumstances.

Moreover, the doctrine of the remnant remains as true as ever. Progress in the past has more often than not depended on the few whose faith and courage were sufficient to weather a storm which seemed to have overwhelmed them. The history of moral advance is contemptuous of majorities.

We reject the charge of pessimism. It might be pessimism to paint the future in colours darker than the facts warrant. It is not pessimism to face the blackest of the facts as they are, particularly when there is a hope that lies beyond and behind these facts.

Faith is not bounded by a week or a year, and the PPU is alive in so far as it is prepared to endure as seeing the invisible, and to follow those who have died, "having had witness borne to them through their faith, but not having received the promise, God having provided some better thing."

It will be well then with the PPU if it has the courage not to seek a world of illusion, but to maintain through days of persisting darkness and difficulty the simple faith in the true character of the world and the abiding values of those who live in it. Thus alone can we ensure that, although we may not see the new and peaceful order emerge, we shall not have helped to deny it to our children.

STUART MORRIS

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